# Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Published under the sanction of the

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# The Anti=Slavery Reporter.

# Emin Bey in Central Africa.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C., 28th October, 1886.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,

Through the courtesy of Lord IddesLeigh, I have received the enclosed letter from Dr. Emin Bey, vià Uganda and Zanzibar.

Dr. Emin Bey (an Austrian) appointed by General Gordon to be Governor of the southernmost possessions of Egypt, called the Equatorial Provinces, was long supposed to be either killed or captive, though, latterly, vague reports were received that he still held his provinces for the Egyptian Government. How well he governed was graphically narrated by Dr. Felkin, who passed through his provinces in 1879, on his way from Lake Victoria Nyanza, and who stated that "were it not for the wild animals you might traverse the whole country with no other weapon than a walking stick."

It is plain from Dr. EMIN BEY'S letter that he has gone though a terrible time of trial, and that had it not been for the assistance of KABBA-RÉGA, king of Unyoro, and his faithful black troops, he must have succumbed to the persistent attacks of his enemies.

KABBA-RÉGA has thus fully retrieved the unenviable character he obtained from his prolonged hostility to Sir Samuel Baker in 1872, so well described by that great explorer in Volume II. of his interesting work, *Ismailia*.

It is touching to find this devoted adherent to a lost cause, Dr. Emin Bey, still ignorant of the fall of Khartoum, and evidently unaware of General Gordon's generous, but futile attempt to save that beleaguered city.

The letter herewith sent is dated from Wadelaï, a place I do not find marked in Keith Johnston's large map of Africa.

I am, Yours faithfully, CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary.

[Translation from the French.]

DEAR MR. ALLEN, WADELAI, 31st December, 1885.

You have always shewn so much interest and sympathy for me that I should not like to let this opportunity pass without sending you a few words. You have doubtless

long thought me dead or captive, and, indeed, you had good reason to think so. By the grace of God, however, I have escaped that fate, and you now behold me successfully opening up a route for the passage of letters, as I have had the good fortune to be able once more to enter into my former friendly relations with Kaba-Rega, the sovereign of Unyoro, so that I have no doubt of the success of my attempt. I therefore trust that the present letter will safely arrive in your hands by way of Uganda and Zanzibar—a rather roundabout route, it is true, but the only one that remains to us.

Ever since the month of May, 1883, we have been cut off from all communication with the world. Forgotten and abandoned by the Government, we have been compelled to make a virtue of necessity. Since the occupation of the Bahr-Gazal-I will not say its conquest, for this province has been taken by treachery—we have been vigorously attacked, and I do not know how to describe to you the admirable devotion of my black troops throughout a long war, which for them at least had no advantage. Deprived of the most necessary things, for a long time without any pay, my men fought valiantly, and when at last hunger weakened them, when, after nineteen days of incredible privations and sufferings, their strength was exhausted, and when the last torn leather of the last boot had been eaten, then they cut a way through the midst of their enemies and succeeded in saving themselves. All this hardship was undergone without the least arrière-pensée, without even the hope of any appreciable reward. prompted only by their duty and the desire of showing a proper valour before their enemies. If ever I had had any doubts of the negro, the history of the siege of Amadi would have proved to me that the black race is, in valour and courage, inferior to no other, whilst in devotion and self-denial it is superior to many. Without any orders from capable officers, these men performed miracles, and it will be very difficult for the Egyptian Government worthily to show its gratitude to my soldiers and officers. Hitherto we have worked for our bread, and the good God, who until now has protected us visibly, will take care of us also in the future. I suppose that in Egypt and at Khartoum we are believed to be dead, and for this reason they have not sent us any steamer. Without wishing to judge harshly of this abandonment, and without complaining, for I am accustomed to such proceedings on the part of the Government, I can assure you that, even if Khartoum has been taken and no help can be expected from the North, I shall know how to make my escape. I wait for that only the answer of the missionaries in Uganda, who will inform me whether Khartoum exists or not.

I have nothing but hearty praises of Kaba-Rega. At my request he has twice sent me men, and by his kindness I have been able to buy a small quantity of stuff (d'étosses) for distribution amongst my army. In this case also the negro has shewn himself a good and valuable ally. When, eight years ago, I visited Kaba-Rega, I little imagined that I should one day have to rely upon his assistance and his friendship. Nevertheless, I was driven to do this, and what is more, the negro has held me in friendly remembrance, has hastened to help his former friend, and has offered his hospitality and his succour.

Believe me, dear Mr. Allen, that, as I have ever had the greatest admiration for your philanthropic work, and the greatest sympathy with your humane efforts, you may henceforth rely upon my feeble aid without any restriction. I have lived for many long years almost exclusively among negroes, and this fact of my intimacy with them proves that I believe them capable of progress, susceptible of good treatment, and endowed with the same natural gifts as ourselves. My letter is already too long, but I

am sure that you will excuse me, and will wish me well. In case the route to the South should become practicable, I shall do myself the pleasure of sometimes sending you news of myself. On the other hand I beg that, if this letter should arrive safely, you will write to me by the same route that it has taken. Let us hope that some day communications with Khartoum will be re-established: I will then write to you more frequently. Accept, dear Mr. Allen, my very friendly greeting, and keep ever in your remembrance

Your very devoted,

To Mr. CHARLES H. ALLEN,

DR. EMIN BEY.

Secretary, British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THE following is a translation of a letter from EMIN BEY, received through the Foreign Office on the 28th October, by DR. ROBERT W. FELKIN, who has kindly sent it to us for publication:—

"DEAR FRIEND,

"WADELAI, 31st December, 1885.

"Whether this letter will reach you or not I do not know. As there is just a chance of sending it across Kabraga's country to Uganda, I will write to give you a sign that I am still alive. I am in hopes that the missionaries in Uganda, if any still remain, will forward our letters, and also get permission from the Katikero (Pokino) to send people to me. At least with this hope I have written in English and French to the same effect, and sent the letters to Kabraga, and Zanzibar Arabs who are with him, to forward.

"You will probably know through the daily papers that poor LUPTON, after having bravely held the Bahr-el-Ghazal province, was compelled through the treachery of his own people to surrender to the emissaries of the late MAHDI, and was carried by them to Kordofan. I do not know what has become of him, but his last letters to me I am taking care of for his family. . . . My province, and also myself, I only saved from a like fate by stratagem; still, at last I was attacked, and many losses in both men and arms were the result, until I delivered such a heavy blow to the rebels at Rimo, in Makraka, that compelled them to leave me alone. Before this took place they informed us that Khartoum fell in January, 1885, and that GORDON was killed. Naturally, on account of these occurrences, I have been compelled to evacuate our more distant stations, and withdraw our soldiers and their families, still hoping that our Government will send us help. It seems, however, that I have deceived myself, for since April, 1883, I have received no news of any kind from the North. The Government in Khartoum did not behave well to us. Before they evacuated Fashoda, they ought to have remembered that government officials were living here (Equatorial Provinces) who had performed their duty, and had certainly not deserved to be left to their fate without more ado. Even if it were the intention of the Government to deliver us over to our fate, the least they could have done was to have released us from our duties; we should then have known that we were considered to have become valueless. Well, never mind this in the meantime; when the troubles first began in the Soudan, I called attention to the extreme danger which existed, and people said that I exaggerated matters. It is quite possible they will say the same now. Any way, it was necessary for us to seek some way of escape, and in the first place it was urgent to send news of our existence to Egypt. With this object in view I went south, after having made the necessary arrangements at Lado, and came to Wadelai. I tried to send a post via Foweira to Uganda, but it came to grief, owing to the malicious behaviour of KAMISVA'S

people (he is the successor to RIONGA). I therefore sent to my old friend KABRAGA and requested him to send people to me, bringing, if possible, a quantity of cloth with them, because my people have no clothes left. We have, it is true, learned long ago to weave course cloth from cotton we have grown ourselves, but the production is so small that it is hardly enough to supply the hundredth part of the demand. KABRAGA was so friendly as to accede to my wishes, and has already twice sent people with letters and a small quantity of cloth. At the present moment some of his people are with me; they return to him to-morrow morning, and Dr. Junker and my apothecary go with them; they will remain at KABRAGA'S (capital), and will send our letters from there through the Zanzibar Arabs to Uganda, Zanzibar, and Egypt. I have requested Dr. Junker to proceed to Uganda, in order to persuade MUANGA to forward the post, but whether he will do so or not I don't know. As to my future plans, I intend to hold this country as long as ever it is possible. I hope that when our letters arrive in Egypt, in seven or eight months, a reply will be sent to me via Khartoum or Zanzibar. If the Egyptian Government still exists in the Soudan, we naturally expect them to send us help. If, however, the Soudan has been evacuated, I shall take the whole of the people towards the south. I shall then send the whole of the Egyptian and Khartoum officials via Uganda or Karagwa to Zanzibar, but shall remain myself with my black troops at KABRAGA's until the Government inform me as to their wishes, and until I know that the people committed to my care are in safety.

"Until now, God has certainly upheld me, and with His help I hope that all may go well in the future.

"Before the war broke out I was in Monbuttu, and worked industriously, and made a large collection, chiefly zoological. I have not forgotten Professor ——, to whom give my best compliments: I have made a collection for him of several skeletons of animals, and I have been enabled to save nearly the whole collection. I will go on collecting here, and will use every endeavour to send him the collection. If I have to go south, myself, I will take them with me, even if I have to leave my own things behind. Shall I ever again receive a letter from you? Will ever news from Europe reach me again? You know from your own experience what it is to be alone here for years. Formerly, one did receive letters and papers two or three times a year—but now I do all I can to encourage myself, but the burden is getting almost too great to be borne. May God be with you. I send my compliments to all your family. Be so good as to write to —— that I have collected the shells from the Albert Lake which I promised him. I shall send them by the first chance to the missionaries in Uganda, and ask them to forward them to him."

Dr. Emin Bev.

# RESOLUTION OF COMMITTEE OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

November 8th, 1886.

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH, &c., &c., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

At a meeting of the Committee of this Society, held on the 5th inst., I had the honour to lay before them a letter addressed to myself by EMIN BEY,

and one from him to Dr. Felkin, a former traveller through the Equatorial Provinces governed by Dr. Emin Bey, and a Member of this Committee.

Dr. EMIN BEY, who was appointed by GENERAL GORDON to administer, on behalf of the Egyptian Government, the Equatorial Provinces on the Upper White Nile, has long been cut off from all help from the civilised world, and is now, as shown by his letters, in a very precarious position.

After considering the subject matter of the two letters (of which I have the honour to enclose proof copy) the following resolution was passed unanimously, and I was directed to forward a copy to your lordship.

I have the honour to remain your Lordship's obedient servant,

CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary.

5th November, 1886.

Copy of Resolution passed at a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

held at the offices this day.

RESOLVED :-

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"That in view of the services rendered by Dr. Emin Bey, both in the suppression of the Slave-trade and in administering, for a considerable period, a settled and peaceful Government in the Equatorial Provinces of Egypt, the Committee consider that the position of Dr. Emin Bey presents a very strong claim upon Her Majesty's Government.

"While not suggesting any measure of a military character for his relief, the Committee hold that both Her Majesty's Government and that of Egypt are bound to be sparing of neither exertion nor expense, in order to rescue him from the destruction which seems to await him, or by the supply of money and goods to enable him to hold a friendly position amongst the natives of his province."

# The Slave=Trade at Victoria Myanza.

To THE EDITOR OF The Times.

SIR,—The powerful and pathetic leader upon Central Africa, in *The Times* of Saturday, ought to arouse the interest and sympathy of the most callous. It states truly that "the murder of Bishop Hannington is a disaster first and principally to the natives of Africa"; and the same may be said of the expulsion of the Rev. Mr. Ashe from the dominions of Mwanga, King MTESA's ruffianly son. The enclosed extract from a letter which I have just received from this missionary shows why the presence of Englishmen is so hateful to the Slave-raiding King of Uganda.

The description given by Mr. ASHE of the enormities of the Slave traffic in Central Africa confirms all that we have heard from other quarters of the great increase in the trade in human beings since the Soudan relapsed into barbarism. The worthy missionary, full of righteous indignation, calls upon the British nation to put a stop to this nefarious traffic; but as the plans

which he suggests involve the employment of armed force, they could scarcely be endorsed by the Anti-Slavery Society, whose constitution declares:—"That the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in accordance with these principles."

The British Government ought to insist upon the proper carrying out of the existing treaties with Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and other countries against the Slave-trade in the same manner as is now so effectively done (without the employment of armed force) by Sir John Kirk with the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Stop the demand for Slaves and the supply will gradually cease.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New Broad Street, E.C., November 1st.

"DEAR SIR,

"VICTORIA NYANZA, BUGANDA, June 27th.

"I am very anxious to join the Anti-Slavery Society; perhaps you will kindly inform me how I can do this.

"Living, as it were, in the very heart of the gigantic wrong, one can feel, so to speak, the agonising throbbing of the horrible life which sucks its nutriment from the bitter tears and poured-out blood of countless unhappy thousands. Here in Buganda is one of the most prolific sources of the traffic in human blood, so horrible as to beggar utterance—vast tracts of peaceful, glorious regions given up to the freest scope of the vilest passions of the basest of men. The Slaves in this country are reckoned by thousands-torn from home and father and mother to be the living chattels of a degraded race; death, mutilation, every wrong which man can inflict or which humanity can endure is their miserable lot. The time has come, and more than come, for Europe to speak and to say once for all, that this 'open sore of the world' shall be bound up. Such reckless, bloody tyrants as this murderer Mwanga should not be endured for a moment longer than it takes to rid the countries which they raid of such a scorpion scourge. I am writing this within a few yards of a market where, among other commodities, human chattels can be purchased. What are English cruisers doing in the Indian Ocean? It is here in the interior that the horrible raids are made. After myriads of mothers and fathers are murdered, and vast tracts desolated, raided, a thousandth part, perhaps, of the spoil falls eventually into the hands of the Arabs, from whose hands the British cruisers deliver one or two Slaves. . . . Even if British cruisers rescued every single Slave that was taken from the Continent of Africa, the stopping of the trade would be no nearer its consummation, for the wrong is so frightful and so growing. While guns and powder (for the former of which England is largely responsible) come pouring into the interior such arch

raiders as Mwanga on the Victoria Lake, and Kabba-Rega between the Victoria and Albert Lakes are enabled to push their gigantic raids further and further. I know of no more sorrowful sight than the unhappy captive children, torn from home and country, fresh from the sight of a murdered father and torn from their mother's side, and I have seen it.

"Believe me, in great haste, yours very faithfully,

"R. P. ASHE, Missionary of Church Missionary Society.

"To Mr. CHARLES ALLEN,

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" Secretary British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society."

# Bisbop Bannington's Diary.

THE Church Missionary Society have just received from Zanzibar the diary of the late Bishop Hannington, written up to the very day of his murder. For economy of space the entries have been made with exceeding minuteness. So that a magnifying glass is necessary to enable the pages to be deciphered, The diary is in course of transcription; meanwhile the *Record* publishes the following extracts, forming a narrative of the Bishop's last week:

October 21, (Wednesday).—The Bishop describes the arrival of his party at Lubwas, where a present of ten guns and three barrels of powder was demanded, and a thousand soldiers assembled. The chief asked him to stay one day, and to this he consented, but while proceeding to a hill to have a view of the Nile, he was set upon by twenty ruffians, stripped of all valuables, and hurried away. "Twice I nearly broke away from them, and then grew faint with struggling, and was dragged by the legs over the ground. I said, 'Lord, I put myself in Thy hands; I look to Thee alone.' Then another struggle, and I got to my feet, and was thus dashed along. More than once I was violently brought in contact with banana trees. In spite of all, feeling I was being dragged away to be murdered, I sang 'Safe in the Arms of Jesus' and 'My God, I am Thine,' and then laughed at the very agony of my situation." Eventually he was brought to a hut, and made out that the Sultan had had him seized, and meant to keep him prisoner until he had received word from Mwanga. Simultaneously the Bishop's men and loads arrived.

October 22, (Thursday).—"I found myself about ten o'clock last night on my bed in a fair-sized hut, but with no ventilation, a fire on the hearth, no chimney for the smoke, about twenty men all round me, and rats and vermin ad lib., fearfully shaken, strained in every limb, and great pain within and thirst. . . Floor covered with rotting banana peel, and leaves, and lice." The Bishop adds that his Portuguese servant might cook his food, and he was allowed to have his Bible and writing materials.

October 23, (Friday).—On this date the Bishop notes that it was three months that day since he left the coast. He with difficulty crawled outside and sat on a chair, and had to be helped back "in a gone condition" to bed. In the afternoon "the chief and about 100 of his wives came to feast their eyes on me in cruel curiosity. I felt inclined to spring at his throat, but sat still, and presently read to myself Matthew v., 44-45, and felt refreshed."

October 24, (Saturday).—" Thank God for a pleasant night in my own tent, in spite of a tremendous storm, and rain flowing in on the floor in streams. Personally, I quite

forgave this old man and his agents for my rough treatment, though even to-day I can only move with the greatest discomfort, and ache like rheumatic fever. The day passed away very quietly. I amused myself with Bible and diary."

October 25, (Sunday).—On this day the Bishop wrote that he had still a great deal of pain in his limbs. "Three detachments of the chief's wives—they say he has 1,000 nearly—have been to-day to see me. They are very quiet, and well behaved, but greatly amused at the prisoner."

On the same day the Bishop observes that his guards and he were great friends, almost affectionate, and one called him, when he spoke of him, as "My white man."

October 26, (Monday).—"Limbs and bruises and stiffness better, but I am heavy and sleepy. Was not inclined to get up as usual, and, if I mistake not, signs of fever creep over me." For the first time he was unable to eat. During the day three parties of the chief's wives came and gazed at the prisoner.

October 27, (Tuesday).—The entries on this day are briefer, and refer chiefly to the circumstances that no reply had been received to the messages he had been allowed to send, and he therefore doubted whether they had been sent at all. "Only a few

ladies came to see the wild beast to-day."

October 28, (Wednesday).—Seventh day's prison.—"A terrible night, first, with noisy, drunken guard, and, secondly, with vermin, which have found out my tent and swarm. I don't think I got one hour's sound sleep, and woke with fever fast developing. O Lord, do have mercy upon me, and release me! I am quite broken down, and brought low. Comforted by reading Psalm xxvii. In an hour or two's time fever developed very rapidly. My tent was so stuffy that I was obliged to go inside the filthy hut, and soon was delirious. My fever passed away. Word came that Mwanga had sent three soldiers, but what news they bring they will not yet let me know. Much comforted by Psalm xxviii."

October 29, (Thursday).—Eighth day's prison.—"I can hear no news, but was held up by Psalm xxx., which came with great power. A hyena howled near me last

night, smelling a sick man, but I hope it is not to have me yet."

This entry—the last—takes up but a small part of the page of the diary. The Bishop apparently expected to write more later on. It is almost certain that he was killed on this day, and there is reason to think that he was taken out to execution very shortly after he had written these words.

# Slave=Trade Papers.\*

WITH the adjournment of Parliament the usual Slave-Trade Papers have been issued to the public. From the Correspondence with British Representatives Abroad, and Reports from Naval Officers and the Treasury relative to the Slave-Trade, 1885, we find abundant evidence of the increased vigour of the Slave-traders on the East Coast of Africa and in Arabia during the last year, whilst the state of the traffic in Egypt is disgraceful to the authorities both English and Egyptian. Owing to the late

<sup>\*</sup> Slave Trade No. 1 (1886) C. 4776.

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famine in Zanzibar the trade received a considerable impetus, but it is to be hoped that as the people recover themselves from its severities there will be a considerable diminution in the number of Slaves exported.

From Mozambique there are no official reports, as the British Consul, Mr. O'Neill, has been absent on furlough; but from private sources we have learnt of the vigorous state of the traffic in the vicinity of Mozambique. The action of Portuguese subjects on the West Coast of the African Continent requires constant watching, as they have introduced a system of "free labour," which is little, if at all, better than the Slave-trade.

Want of space compels us to keep over various extracts until next month. The following will be read with interest.

#### THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Our readers will remember that at the great Anti-Slavery Meeting held at the Mansion House, in July, 1885, in which Mr. H. M. Stanley delivered an eloquent address, it was resolved to memorialise Her Majesty's Government, urging the carrying out of the terms of the Convention existing between this country and Egypt. The correspondence resulting therefrom appears below, and, we may remark, the despatches received by Her Majesty's Government were first made known to the Anti-Slavery Society through the recent publication of the Blue Book. They confirm the opinion we have formerly expressed that the Convention is allowed to remain a dead letter.

THE LORD MAYOR TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY .- (Received July 25.)

THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON, July 23, 1885.

MY DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

I have the honour to forward you herewith a copy of the Resolution unanimously passed at a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held under my presidency here yesterday.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) R. N. FOWLER.

#### [Inclosure.—Resolution.]

Resolved,—That this meeting desires to call public attention to the Treaty entered into by the Government of Egypt, and HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY, on the 4th August, 1877, by which it is stipulated that the sale of negro Slaves or Abyssinians from family to family shall be, and shall remain, prohibited in Egypt, in an absolute manner, upon all the territory comprised between Alexandria and Assouan, on and after the 4th August, 1884.

And whereas, after the expiration of nearly a year from that date, there is no sign whatever of this Treaty being put into force, HER MAJESTY'S Government be asked to urge that of Egypt to carry out the Convention in its entirety; and that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, HER MAJESTY'S Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

(Signed) CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secretary.

#### SIR VILLIERS LISTER TO MR. EGERTON.

SIR.

Foreign Office, August 10, 1885.

I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to forward to you a copy of a Resolution passed at a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society held on the 22nd July, and to request that you will furnish his Lordship with any observations which you may have to make respecting it.

You are aware that full information was given to Parliament as to the steps taken last year in the paper laid as "Slave Trade No. 4, of 1884."

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

Mr. Egerton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 7.)

My Lord,

Cairo, August 31, 1885.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant, inclosing copy of a Resolution passed by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY last month.

The conflict between the new Courts and the Justice of the Cadi is not yet decisively settled, and I have for the moment (though I may again recur to the subject) nothing to add to Sir Evelyn Baring's Report made last year.

Slavery is gradually diminishing, but the difficulty in procuring convictions is not

diminishing.

The promulgation of the law prohibiting sales of Slaves from family to family took place in the official papers in September last. Since that time the police have arrested only twenty-seven persons on charges of being implicated in such sales (seventeen cases in all). This is the result of evidence being so difficult to obtain. In the majority it was entirely wanting. There are four cases standing over owing to the difficulty respecting the Tribunal competent to try these cases.

NUBAR PASHA considered the ordinary Tribunals would be competent for cases of domestic Traffic, but after talking the matter over and examining the Conventions with his Excellency, it has been found to be not as he thought. (See Article 13 of the Règlement of the 15th October 1877, and Article II. of the Convention of the 4th August, 1877.) We have therefore settled that the courts-martial will try these cases also, unless an agreement be come to between the Signatory Powers to make the ordinary Tribunals competent.

I inclose Mr. Borg's (Her Majesty's Consul) remarks on the subject of sales from house to house.

There will always be great difficulty in getting evidence to convict in cases of these private sales.

On the whole, however, there has been improvement during the last year. The price of Slaves, though there are fewer Slaves, is falling off in consequence of insecurity of possession.

There are very few young eunuchs; and it appears that much active co-operation has been shown by Colonel Hallam Parr, Adjutant-General of the Egyptian Army, in arrangements with the Slavery Bureau.

I have, &c.

#### [Inclosure.]

MEMORANDUM ON THE SALE OF SLAVES FROM FAMILY TO FAMILY.

The Decree prohibiting such sales came into operation on the 4th August, 1884. The Egyptian Government, on the representation of Sir E. Baring, inserted in the Arabic newspapers of September or October 1884, notices calling attention to such prohibition. I understand it had been suggested that public criers should be instructed, following the custom of the country, to give warnings in the public streets of such prohibition, but, so far as I am aware, this has not been done. It would be very desirable that the latter course should be adopted, especially in the provinces, as by that means the prohibition would be brought to the knowledge of the illiterate masses.

Since August 1884, seventeen cases of sales of Slaves from family to family have been brought under the notice of Colonel Schaffer Bey, the officer at the head of the Slave Trade Department. Evidence not being forthcoming in thirteen cases they were dropped, while the remaining four, in which seven persons are implicated, are awaiting trial.

In connection with the judicial disposal of such cases, a question arises as to the Tribunal that is competent to deal with them. Article 2 of the Decree annexed to the Convention determines the extent of punishment "according to the decision of the competent Tribunal," but does not name the Tribunal; while by the Convention the competency of courts-martial is limited to Trafficking in Slaves and to the mutilation of children.

On the other hand, the ordinary Tribunals of the country can take cognizance only of matters for which provision has been made in the Codes by which they are governed, and the sale of Slaves from family to family is not, I think, among such matters. It becomes, therefore, absolutely necessary that steps should be taken to determine which is "the competent Tribunal" in the matter.

(Signed)

RAPH. BORG.

CAIRO, August 31, 1885.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY TO MR. EGERTON.

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Foreign Office, September 25, 1885.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 31st ultimo with regard to the present condition of Slavery and the Traffic in Slaves in Cairo.

I have to request that you will keep this subject in view, and that you will from time to time report to me upon it.

You should more especially endeavour to keep a watch upon the proceedings of the courts-martial, and report home upon any case which may seem to require such a course.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

#### ZANZIBAR.

The increase of the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa below the Red Sea, has been frequently noticed by us, and is confirmed by Lord Granville's despatch. Her Majesty's indefatigable Consul-General, Sir John Kirk, requently calls the attention of the Sultan of Zanzibar to the renewed

Slave traffic constantly carried on in his dominions. We regret that space will only permit us to insert one of Sir John's vigorous despatches. It would be well if some of our readers would procure the Blue Book, from which we have just quoted, and study its painfully interesting details. The price is only 2s. id., and it may be ordered of Messrs. Hansard or Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, through any bookseller. If these papers were more diligently studied we should not so often be told, by persons who ought to know better, that there is no longer any Slave-trade, and that the necessity for the existence of the Anti-Slavery Society has ceased.

#### MR. LISTER TO SIR J. KIRK.

SIR.

FOREIGN OFFICE, January 30, 1885.

Earl Granville has read with concern your despatch of the 20th ultimo, and other despatches, which show that there has recently been a revival of the Slave-trade from the East Coast of Africa. It is true that this revival appears to be in great part due to the distress and famine which have existed on the mainland, but other causes seem also to have been at work, the chief of which is apparently an entirely mistaken idea that Her Majesty's Government have relaxed their efforts in the suppression of the Slave-trade.

I am, consequently, directed by his Lordship to instruct you to issue a notice in such terms and manner as you may think best calculated to remove this impression;

you will also request the Sultan to do the same.

A copy of this despatch has been communicated to the Admiralty, with a request that their Lordships will give orders to Her Majesty's cruisers to exercise as strict a supervision as possible over the coast.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

T. V. LISTER.

#### SIR J. KIRK TO THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR.

Your Highness,

ZANZIBAR, March 12, 1885.

I have again to call your Highness' attention to the extensive importation of Slaves into Pemba that has taken place this year, of which I have just received fresh proof in the arrival of four Slaves taken from near Dar Salam, where they had been kidnapped and carried to Pemba.

It is, I regret to say, very evident that your authorities and soldiers stationed on that part of the coast have small regard for your orders; had they exercised the most ordinary care so many Slaves never could have been shipped as have been of late, or kidnapped as many have been in the town of Dar Salam itself. The only conclusion I can draw is, that your authorities about Mboamagi, Dar Salam, and Kanduchi are in league with the Pemba Arabs, and wink at what they know goes on.

I have again to repeat what I have before said, that I regard all such Slaves to be entitled to their freedom wherever and by whomsoever found, and to place on record once more that since all import of Slaves became illegal twelve years ago, Her Majesty's Government have a right to require the liberation of all who have been introduced since 1873.

I mention this now not to cause your Highness further embarrassment at a time when I know you have many important matters to preoccupy your thoughts and cause

you serious anxiety, but you will understand that if your authority is allowed to be set aside by your own subjects on the coast so near the centre of government in this flagrant manner, it is not likely to be respected either on the coast or inland by others who have told you they will regard it only where they see evidence of its being firmly established.

It is therefore a duty your Highness owes to the Government of Her Majesty and to yourself to see that steps are taken at once to stop this revival of the Slave-trade, to which your attention has been so often called.

I have already suggested the abolition of the status of Slavery in Pemba and Zanzibar as just and politic, seeing there are few Slaves legally held in these islands, the greater number having been introduced illegally since 1873. I would again bring this to your notice; in the meantime, I am ordered by Her Majesty's Government to suggest the issue of a Proclamation, reminding your authorities and subjects of their duties to you, and I would myself suggest that General Mathews should be allowed to expend a sum of money, and to keep men in your employ under him on the coast specially for the work of Slave-trade suppression.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

(To be continued).

# THE TIMES UPON THE RECENTLY ISSUED SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.

COMMENTING upon the recently issued Slave Trade Papers, the Times thus writes:—

The great obstacle in the way of the suppression of the Slave-trade is the difficulty of obtaining the hearty co-operation of other countries. When Governments decree, and local authorities refuse to execute the decrees, it may reasonably be surmised that they do not think their disobedience a very dangerous offence. It is satisfactory to see that the reports about Turkey and the conduct of Turkish officials show a marked improvement over former reports. The Minister of the Interior has given strict directions for the execution of the convention for the suppression of the Slave-trade throughout the Empire, and his orders have been very generally obeyed. Consul Dennis writes from Smyrna that the importation of Slaves has ceased, and that the sale of Slaves has been so checked that it can only be carried on clandestinely, if at all. The correspondence about Jeddah discloses, however, a different state of things. In August, 1884, a despatch was received by our Minister at Constantinople from the acting Consul at Jeddah, reporting an infraction by the Ottoman civil and naval authorities of the Convention of 1880 for the suppression of the Slave-trade. The fact was stoutly denied. A report from the Vali of the Hedjaz declared that after careful inquiry it had been found that no Slaves had been landed either at Jeddah or in its neighbourhood. The literal accuracy of this report was confirmed by further investigation on the spot, but the fact remained that a large number of newly imported Slaves had been seen at Mecca and Jeddah in the company of well-known Slavebrokers, and that the private depôts, which had shortly before been empty, had been

filled with human wares. The truth proved to be that no Slaves had been landed at Jeddah or near Jeddah, but that they had reached Jeddah nevertheless. The illicit traffic had been driven some distance to the south, so that the only result of the strong pressure brought to bear by British Consular officers had been to transfer the Slavedealers' operations to a point on the open coast where there was no one authorised to interfere with them. It does not seem that the Governor of Jeddah was to blame in the matter. He had been told to use his best endeavours to prevent Slaves from being landed along the coast, and he had had no force at his disposal for carrying out his orders. This is a typical case. The garrisons of the Hedjaz are limited to the few towns. There is no coastguard or military post along the coast beyond the towns. The result is that Slaves, principally Gallas, are landed on the coast, are taken up country into the Bedouin villages, and are thence smuggled into the towns by small numbers at a time, and sold privately as domestic servants. All that the local authorities could do would be to make raids upon the private houses in which the Slaves are kept for sale, but this they hardly attempt to do, and the efforts of British cruisers, valuable as they are, serve only to keep the local Slave-trade within bounds, and to make it more difficult and occasionally less successful than it would otherwise be. From the Zanzibar coast we have reports by the score of the capture of Slave dhows and the liberation of their cargo. Their number is proof at once of the energetic efforts of our cruisers and of the impracticability of their task. While the demand for Slaves continues, the best hope of putting an end to the Slave-trade is that the supply of Slaves should be cut off at its source. This would be effective, and we doubt if any other means will be.

#### SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

TO THE EDITOR OF The Times.

SIR,—I beg to thank you on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society for the admirable editorial remarks contained in *The Times* of yesterday upon the recently issued Slave Trade Papers.

Will you allow me to supplement the satisfactory figures from Cuba by a further report lately received from Consul Crowe and transmitted to me by courtesy of the Foreign Office. These figures show that, instead of the 50,000 alluded to in your review as being in bondage, there were in June last only about 25,000 Slaves in Cuba. The progress of emancipation under the Moret Law in that island does infinite credit to the Spanish Government, and must be a source of unmixed satisfaction to all abolitionists.

Your remarks upon the new Slave Law in Brazil are perfectly just, and, as you truly state, "abolitionists may well be impatient if the realisation of their hopes is to be deferred until these generations have died out."

In the Red Sea and on the East Coast of Africa there has been a marked increase of the Slave-trade during the last few years. By many authorities this is attributed in part to the diminution in the number of cruisers, and in part to the unfortunate relapse of the Soudan into barbarism, whereby that country is left free to the incursions of the Slave-hunters.

The opinion expressed in the concluding clause of your thoughtful sketch—viz., that "the best hope of putting an end to the Slave-trade is that the supply of Slaves

should be cut off at its source," is one that has been largely shared by many ardent friends of Africa. The late General Gordon, when disheartened by the difficulties of abolishing the institution of Slavery, sometimes expressed a similar opinion. On one occasion he wrote to me that on his return from China he would take service under the Sultan of Zanzibar, and proceed to Tanganyika, where he would "attack the Slavetrade at its tap root."

The experience of the Anti-Slavery Society does not coincide with this view, as it invariably follows that if the Slave-trade is stopped at one port or province, it simply leads to a change of the *locale*, as shown in the case of Jeddah quoted in your article. The Anti-Slavery Society is, therefore, bound to admit the truth of the axiom laid down by its founders, that so long as the demand for Slaves continues, so long will there be a supply to meet that demand.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New Broad Street, E.C., Oct. 7.

## Review.

MEMOIR OF RICHARD ALLEN, A CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPIST OF DUBLIN.\*

On January 19th, of this year, a prominent member of the early Quaker Abolitionists entered into the higher life, at the ripe age of 83 years, reducing still further the number of those who witnessed the great struggle against Slavery and the Slave-trade fifty years ago. His features are immortalised in Haydon's great picture of the World's Convention held in 1840, in which he appears as No. 75. This picture, presented by the Anti-Slavery Society to the nation, has found a fitting home in the National Portrait Gallery.

The interesting biographical sketch by Hannah Maria Wigham, and the pleasing photograph, give us a far better idea of the man than even Haydon's portrait.

RICHARD ALLEN was successfully engaged in business in Dublin, and devoted much of his time and means to philanthropic objects. Chief among these, in the early days of the struggle, was the Anti-Slavery cause. Some interesting particulars of the crusade undertaken against the abominable apprenticeship system by Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey, Richard Allen, John Scoble, and a few others, appear in this volume, and as this important and successful campaign has not received the same attention in Anti-Slavery records as the Emancipation Act in 1833, we propose in the present and following numbers of the *Reporter*, to give a few extracts from the lively descriptions of this movement handed down to us by Mr. Allen and his wife.

<sup>\*</sup> By Hannah Maria Wigham. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The temperance movement also received Mr. RICHARD ALLEN'S cordial aid—Father Theobald Mathew sharing the hospitality, which was as cordially extended to him as it was to W. LLOYD GARRISON, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and other Anti-Slavery worthies.

In later years RICHARD ALLEN made almost annual excursions on the Continent of Europe which extended also to Egypt and the Holy Land. In 1883, when 80 years old, he visited America, and was greatly interested in the condition of the coloured freedmen. His wife, Mrs. Mary Ann Marriage Allen, has written some lively accounts of this interesting journey.

The little volume abounds with pleasing reminiscences of this large-hearted, gentle and benevolent quaker gentleman, which make it very pleasant and instructive reading. A few months before his death, quoting Keble's line—

"Fit us for perfect rest above,"

RICHARD ALLEN exclaimed: "Rest, that is what I don't want! Rest was ROBERT HALL'S idea of heaven, for he was a great sufferer. My idea of heaven is love and service. Oh, if I might be a missionary angel, and go and whisper to desponding souls the wonders of a Saviour's love! We have the text, 'Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation?'"

Here is the keynote to a great truth:—Rest—yes, from temptation combats,—Work for all, in the Heavenly vineyard.

"HIS RANDOM RECOLLECTIONS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STRUGGLE." "Soon after the passing of the Apprenticeship Act of 1834, relative to the West India Slaves, by which, in four years, the non-predial, and in six years the predial Slaves were to be free, it was found by reports from disinterested parties that the apprenticeship system, so far from working well, was telling fearfully on the apprenticed population; that the masters, having only for a limited time absolute control over the apprentices, were working them more severely than ever; that the children were greatly neglected and dying off; the planters, having no interest in them, worked the mothers more constantly in the plantation; and that, so far from the new law in any way improving their position, made it more suffering than before; that the stipendiary magistrates, even when anxious to do their duty in protecting the people, were overborne by the influence the planters were able to exercise. In the van of the struggle on the side of freedom was my dear and valued friend Joseph Sturge. While his Christian principle and diffidence kept him in some measure in the background, he was in reality the moving centre. Keenly alive to the continuous reports of the suffering of the Slave population, he determined to see for himself the actual state of things; and with this view he organised a party consisting of Thomas Harvey, of Leeds, John Scoble (Secretary of the B. AND F. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY), Dr. LLOYD, of Birmingham, and himself, who proceeded to the West Indies, making, I think, the Island of Jamaica their central visiting place. (It must be remembered that I am writing entirely from memory.) In the published life of JOSEPH STURGE a much more full and reliable account of the whole Anti-Slavery struggle will be found. THOMAS HARVEY and Joseph Sturge appear to have had the general object of seeing how matters went on

in the plantations, and to John Scoble was committed the examination of the prisons. They, Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, soon found that the reports of the additional suffering were but too true, and that a system was going on, if allowed to continue for the six years, would be a time of great suffering, and would fearfully thin the population. After a thorough investigation they returned, Thomas Harvey by way of America; and on crossing the Atlantic had as one of the company on board the future EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. On arriving in London Joseph Sturge speedily communicated with the leading members of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and several meetings were held, largely with a view of obtaining the valuable assistance of Lord Brougham, whose advocacy of freedom had been so powerful in drawing public attention to the atrocious system. It would be well worth some of the rising generation to seek out and study some of his public utterances on the subject of Slavery. One of his speeches is something as follows, after describing the horrors of the Slave-trade and Slavery :- 'Such, then, is the painted charnel-house over which the free flag of Britain triumphantly waves, which British valour supports, and the roar of British cannon protects.' And on another occasion :- 'The day will come, may not be far distant, when men will fling to the winds the wild fantasy, that man can hold property in man.' I have said that several meetings were held at which Lord Brougham was present, as well as private interviews by Joseph Sturge with him. I remember being present at one of these private interviews, and I admired the deference of the peer to the worth of the unassuming civilian. Lord Brougham knew the worth of Joseph Sturge, and appreciated it. But all attempts to get Lord Brougham to help in the new crusade seemed hopeless. His language was in substance this: 'STURGE, I would go as far with you, or further, than any other man, but I will not embark in a hopeless cause. The public mind was thoroughly aroused, and the apprenticeship was carried. The work is considered to be completed, and the nation has gone asleep. I fully believe in what you state as regards the suffering of the apprentices, but it would be impossible to stir up the public mind again. I cannot embark with you in a sinking boat.'

#### LORD BROUGHAM CONVINCED AGAINST HIS WILL.

"At what appeared to be the final interview with Lord Brougham, John Scoble, who had remained longer in Jamaica than the others, and had just returned, and was also present, and hearing Brougham's decision whispered to Joseph Sturge, Do you think Lord Brougham would give me an interview?' 'Possibly he might,' said he; 'but I fear the agitation, as regards his advocacy, is hopeless. I, however, will ask him.' He then approached Lord Brougham and said to him, 'John Scoble has just returned. His mission was to visit the prisons; he wishes much for an interview with thee.' 'By all means,' said Lord Brougham. 'Monday, at three o'clock at my house.' John Scoble accordingly was there at the appointed time. On entering his study Lord Brougham pointed to a seat. 'I am ready to hear you, Mr. Scoble.' John Scoble then proceeded with his narrative, relating the cruelty he had seen practised. 'In one prison, my lord, which I visited, I saw two women taken dead off the treadmill.' Here Lord Brougham became aroused; he rose from his seat, and walked about the room. 'A coroner's inquest was held, and the jury returned a verdict of --- ' 'Wilful murder,' ejaculated Lord Brougham. 'No, my lord, died by the visitation of God.' 'That's a libel; that's blasphemy!' exclaimed Lord Brougham, adding in an undertone, 'the House shall hear it to-night.' After John Scoble's narrative was finished he

said to Lord Brougham cautiously, 'May I ask your lordship what course you intend to pursue?' 'What course could I pursue but one?' said Lord BROUGHAM—'go down to the House to-night, and denounce the whole system.' This he did, and to a House of seven peers made a speech that stirred the whole country. In the early part he made some allusion to the horrors of the Slave-trade, and understated some remarkable instances of crowding. Lord SLIGO rose and corrected him, telling the House that the facts were much worse. It told on the assembly. The speech was circulated to tens of thousands, and speedily the country was aroused. There were upwards of four hundred delegates assembled at this convention; petitions were presented to the QUEEN from the women of England, signed by 500,000, and from the women of Scotland by 150,000. On arriving in London, it was arranged that a number of the delegates should divide themselves into pairs, and call on all the members, both of the Upper and Lower House, for the purpose of urging on them to support the motion which Sir EARDLEY WILMOT was about to bring forward for the abolition of the apprenticeship. Forming ourselves into sixty pairs, we divided the M.P.'s amongst us, JAMES H. WEBB being my companion. We were young and earnest, and set about our work with vigour. Amongst those allotted to us were Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister; LABOUCHERE, President of the Board of Trade; Lord SLIGO; the others I forget. Lord JOHN declined to see us. From LABOUCHERE we met with a very courteous reception, he listening patiently to our urgent representations. With the Marquis of SLIGO we had a long and friendly interview. Knowing that the Government would decidedly oppose the motion, we earnestly urged the Marquis to use his privilege as a peer of the realm to obtain a private interview with the Queen, and state to her what was the real feeling of the people, and urge her to call on her Ministers to support the measure of abolition. He wrote us a long letter, which is still in my autograph book, in which he gave us reasons for believing it would be best not to accede to our request. I cannot clearly recollect who the others on whom we called were. Meanwhile the English and Scotch petitions had been presented, but we found the Irish one had been overlooked, and on searching for it we found it in the box in which it came unopened. We accordingly dislodged it from its prison-house, and made arrangements for its presentation.

#### Scene in the "House."

"The day after Sir Eardley Wilmot's motion was made in the House, the deputation consisted of Edward Baldwin (Secretary to the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society), James H. Webb, and myself. If I remember right, Dr. Edgar did not arrive in time, and was disappointed at not being one of the number. Our headquarters were at Brown's Hotel, opposite to the House. There we met daily four or five hundred strong, making all due arrangements, having constituted the Sun newspaper our organ, of which we took one thousand copies, which were sent broadcast to different parts of the country. The day for Sir Eardley Wilmot's motion arrived. The delegates assembled in full force in the galleries of the House, Joseph Sturge and a few others being admitted by special favour below the bar (downstairs). I remember James H. Webb and I, determining to be in time, took our places in the front seat of the gallery at two o'clock. At an early hour in the afternoon Sir Eardley Wilmot, in a clear, impressive speech, moved that a bill be brought into Parliament, declaring the abolition of the apprenticeship on the 1st August, 1838. The motion was seconded by

Sir Lytton Bulwer, who, in his speech, inflicted severe castigation on GLADSTONE, grounded on some misstatements in a pamphlet which he (GLADSTONE) had published. GLADSTONE did not reply, nor do I clearly recollect who the other speakers were. It was generally expected the debate would continue for two or three nights, therefore it was with a feeling of surprise that about eleven o'clock p.m. a cry of 'Divide,' 'Divide,' came from the Government side of the House. It grew louder and louder, but the delegates kept their places, supposing the debate would doubtless go on, but the doorkeepers told us we must withdraw. The gallery was at length cleared, we two going out last, so as to be in again first. After a considerable time of waiting we heard a loud cheer in the House, the gallery doors were opened, and the delegates tumbled in over the seats 'pell mell,' each struggling for a good place. We regained our old position close to the doorkeeper, and on eagerly questioning him, he said, 'The House divided with a majority of three in favour of the abolition of the apprenticeship.' We were in perfect amazement, for it was well known the Government had a large majority on their side. 'What next?' was the first thought of all. Second, 'We have no business any longer here.' And forthwith we went in a body to our large room in Brown's Hotel. There the same question arose, 'What next?' It was moved that WILLIAM DILWORTH CREWDSON should take the chair, and he (a fine portly Quaker) expressed the sense of the assembled company, of devout thankfulness to Gop, for the unexpected success of the cause of right and justice. We learned that the loud huzzas were led by O'Connell, who was described as pressing through the crowd, his full face expressing his pleasure, and his hat crushed into twenty shapes. He came direct to Brown's Hotel. In about half an hour Joseph Pease, M.P., entered, and in a clear, impressive speech said in purport, 'I knew how excited all would be at the unexpected success we have attained, and I thought it best that one should be calm, and with that feeling I remained in the House to hear what the Government would do under the unexpected defeat, and I regret to state that the Minister (Lord JOHN RUSSELL) has declared that on the earliest day consistent with the rules of the House he will move the rescinding of the vote of this evening.' He had hardly concluded, when O'Connell, in all his commanding portliness, arose, and in passionate earnestness spoke in substance as follows: 'Gentlemen, it is generally known this Ministry is the first to whom I have given my support, because I saw in them some intention of doing justice to my unfortunate country; but, perish the Ministry who should dare to attempt such an unrighteous course, and I declare to give it the most determined opposition.'

## QUAKERS AT THE LEVÉE.

"We separated, our mission being to present the address or petition of the women of Ireland to the QUEEN. Equipped in our Quaker garb (I in JOSEPH STURGE'S silk stockings and a pair of black knee-breeches, JAMES H. WEBB likewise in borrowed or hired lower garments) we appeared in the large ante-room of the levèe, our hats having been removed by the attendants, bearing with us the monster petition signed by 75,000 Irish women.

"The levie was a very crowded one, and we were naturally the objects of much attention, and our mission courteously inquired of by several, so that it became generally known. Our turn came nearly last, and we moved to the audience-room,

EDWARD BALDWIN, as the strongest, carrying the massive petition, I, close behind him, supporting it, lest it should become unrolled. I am not clear that, had I thought of it, I would have let this mischance happen; it would have made such a stir. However, the petition was duly laid at the QUEEN'S feet. We kissed her hand, the soft, warm hand of a young lady of nineteen; but, contrary to custom, I raised her hand to my lips, standing erect myself. We had, of course, to back out of her presence, my companion, I thought, somewhat awkwardly, but perhaps I did not much better.

#### RECEPTION OF THE NEWS IN JAMAICA.

"I have often said, and I can speak from a little experience, that ten honest and true men leading the van would, in the long run, influence any Government, and I think the result in the present case proves it. While the delegates were waiting (not very patiently) to see what would arise next, a whisper was spread that an unobserved advocate was quietly working a powerful lever. This was Dr. PALMER, one of the stipendiary magistrates, who had been sent out to see that the apprenticeship laws were properly carried out. He soon fell under the opprobrium of the planters for endeavouring to administer justice to the oppressed, and was recalled. Immediately on the successful vote being taken, he decided on the following course :- It was near the time of the despatch of the monthly Jamaica mail, which should start on the 31st; he felt sure it would be detained until the adverse vote was carried, and, acting on this conviction, he sat up all night preparing despatches for Jamaica, announcing the majority in the House of Commons, and sent them by express to every port from which a vessel for the West Indies was likely to sail, and, said he, 'I have reason to believe these despatches are already on their way to Jamaica.' And the event proved he was right. The mail was detained until the adverse vote was carried. But the evil news arrived too late. The Jamaica House of Assembly, always jealous of English interference, received the announcement that the British Parliament had passed by majority a resolution that 'A Bill was to be brought in abolishing the apprenticeship, and declaring all free.' In their pride and vexation they declared they would not be coerced by the British Parliament, but would do the work themselves; and accordingly at once introduced a Bill abolishing the apprenticeship, and ere the adverse vote reached them the Jamaica House was irrevocably committed to the complete emancipation of their so-called apprentices. Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON (writing in the House) thus describes the scene: 'A resolution for the immediate abolition of the apprenticeship was carried by a majority last night. The intelligence was received with such a shout by the Quakers (myself among the number), that we strangers were all turned out for rioting. I am right pleased.'

"After this great victory in the cause of freedom, the hosts again rallied, the battlefield being shifted from our West Indian Colonies to the United States of America."

(To be continued.)

# Motice to Subscribers.

Annual Subscribers to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who have not paid their subscriptions for the current year, are respectfully but earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions to the Offices, 55, New Broad Street, London, before the end of the year, in order that they may be included in the list issued in January, 1887.

# Emancipation Act of Brazil.

REPORT ON THE DECREE, No. 9,602, OF THE 12TH JUNE, 1886, approving the Regulation for putting in force the SARAIVA ACT, of 28th September, 1885, by J. V. CRAWFORD, late H.M. VICE-CONSUL in CUBA, and a Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

London, September 30th, 1886.

This Act provides for a new and complete registration of the Slaves, and for the creation of a Fund to indemnify the owners on the emancipation of their Slaves.

It also prescribes the duties of master and man during a compulsory apprenticeship of the Slave for five years after emancipation, and it further lays down the rules which are to be observed by the freedmen after obtaining their complete or nominal liberty.

#### REGISTRY OF THE SLAVES.

The registration is to be made within fifteen months from the publication of the edict enforcing it, but for all practical purposes under the Act, the 1st January, 1887, is the date from which its accomplishment is to be reckoned.

All Slaves are to be included in the registry, saving those 60 years old and upwards, who are to be inscribed in a separate list.

#### EMANCIPATION FUND.

The penalty for non-registration is the freedom of the Slave. The Emancipation Fund is to be raised from the taxes already imposed for that purpose; from an extra tax of 5 per cent. on all general imposts except export dues; from Government Bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest; and from a registration fee of 1 dollar, less expense of registration.

The extra 5 per cent. tax is to be applied in equal shares-

1st.-To emancipate the older Slaves.

2nd.—To emancipate, for half their value, or less, field Slaves and those employed in mining, whose owners desire to substitute free for Slave labour.

3rd.—To subsidise colonisation.

Government is authorised to issue bonds in aid of colonisation, and the transformation of estates from Slave to free labour, up to two-thirds value of the extra 5 per cent. tax.

#### REGISTERED VALUE OF SLAVES.

The price of Slaves of all ages up to 60 years is fixed at from 200 to 900 milreis;

females to be valued at 25 per cent. less than males; and from the registered value there is to be deducted in the

| 1st year 2 per cent. | 6th year 7 per cent.        | 1 10th year 10 per cent.     |          |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------|
| 2nd " 3 "            | 7th " 8 "                   | 11th " 12 "   100            |          |
| 3rd " 4 "            | 8th " 9 "                   | 12th ,, 12 ,,                | per cent |
| 4th " 5 "            | 9th ,, 10 ,,                | 13th " 12 "                  | 111      |
| 5th " 6 "            | M. Vierbiller Committee Co. | Land deserve all V 1 July 19 |          |

so that the 13th year from 1887, say, on 1st January, 1900, Slavery in Brazil will be extinct.

#### How SLAVES ARE TO BE VALUED.

The registered value of Slaves is to be determined according to the present customary method.

The Act imposes no obligation upon the owners to emancipate their Slaves, so that Slavery may continue in full vigour until the year 1900, but in that case the value of the Slave would be nil. It is evidently the intention of the Slave-owners to secure their indemnity at such time as it suits them (otherwise there would be no necessity for an Emancipation Fund) and the sooner the better for them, especially as they are to retain the freed Slave's services for five years, and after that period they probably reckon upon contracting him on their own terms, as the Act binds the freedman to find employment, in default of which he is to be dealt with in a very summary manner, by being compelled to contract his services, under a penalty of fifteen days' imprisonment with hard labour, and, after that, to be sent to public works, or to an agricultural colony in case he still refuses to do so.

#### COLONIES UNDER MILITARY RULE TO BE ESTABLISHED.

Government is to establish agricultural colonies under military rule, to which freed men having no occupation are to be sent.

#### RESTRICTIONS TO PREVENT VAGRANCY.

The Act lays down the most stringent regulations to prevent vagrancy, for instance, every Slave, from the date of his freedom through the Emancipation Fund, must remain for five years in the municipal district where he was freed, the chief cities excepted, change of domicile being permitted only in case of illness, or when the freed Slave wishes to join his family, or when he contracts his services elsewhere; all which can only be done by petitioning the authorities, and after many legal formalities.

#### CONDITIONS FOR SUBSTITUTING FREE FOR SLAVE LABOUR.

When the owner of a plantation or mine wishes to substitute free for Slave labour, the Government will pay him, in 5 per cent. bonds, one-half the value of his Slaves, on condition that *all* the Slaves are freed, and that no more Slaves will be admitted or employed on the property.

The master is to retain his freed men's services for five years, clothing, feeding, and housing them during that time, affording them primary instruction and paying them such wages as may be determined with the approval of the Orphans' Judge. One-half of the wages is to be given to the freedman; the other half is to be retained by Government as a fund to be handed to him at the end of his five years' service.

#### INFIRM OR USELESS SLAVES AND FUGITIVES CANNOT BE FREED.

Infirm or useless Slaves must be cared for by their owner, and they, as well as fugitive Slaves, while absent, cannot be freed through the Emancipation Fund.

#### AGED SLAVES.

Slaves of 60 years of age must continue to serve their ex-master for three years. Those attaining the age of 65 years are to be free from further service beyond such light work as is compatible with their age. Their master is bound to feed, clothe, and look after them, unless they prefer to gain their own livelihood. The service of Slaves from 55 to 60 is to be remitted on payment of half their arbitrated value.

#### GENERAL REMARKS.

The regulations for carrying out the Act of 28th September, 1885, appear to be in strict keeping with the general tenor of the act.

There is no fixed date for redeeming any part or portion of the Slaves. It is left almost entirely to the arbitrary control of the Slave-owners themselves, and were it not for the sliding scale which cancels the Slave's value in thirteen years, there would be no inducement to hasten emancipation.

The five years additional service conceded to the owners is, doubtless, an offset to half the Slave's value, which is surrendered on availing themselves of the indemnity to be paid by the Government, and, taking the most pessimist view of the subject, it is natural to suppose that the Slave-owners, studying their own interests, will substitute free for Slave labour within eight years, at the latest, from the 1st of January next.

There is nothing in the Act to prevent Slaves from obtaining their liberty in any of the usual ways hitherto recognised by the laws of all Slave-holding countries, and such Slaves as do so are free; bu it would appear that, by Act III., sections 17 & 18 of the Saraiva Act, they, too, must find employment, or become amenable to the summary treatment already described, viz., obligatory contract of their services, imprisonment with hard labour, or banishment to an agricultural colony under military discipline.

In addition to the ordinary means of obtaining their freedom, it is enacted that the Slave shall be declared free who is illegally transferred to any other place than that in which he was registered; or who is employed in any establishment where free labour has been substituted for Slave labour under this Act. In the latter case the owner can claim the Slave's value from his employer.

The Slave-owners, in obtaining the passing of the Saraiva Act, have secured the prolongation of Slavery in Brazil for thirteen years, together with the only possible means of indemnity for the emancipation of their Slaves. The Act has been framed with the view of continuing Slavery under a system of obligatory contracts afterwards, on the plea of preventing vagrancy in the Empire, but they (the Slave-owners) will probably find that such a system cannot be enforced. It has failed in Cuba, and everywhere it has been attempted.

With unfettered freedom, good treatment, and fair wages there is no reason why the negro Slaves of to-day should not be induced to work as only free men can work; but it is to be feared that in Brazil, as has been the case in Cuba, the Slave-owners are too short-sighted to prepare for the day of emancipation, or to recognise any other regime than that of coercion.

JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

To CHARLES H. ALLEN, Esq., Secretary Anti-Slavery Society.

# Abolition of Slavery in Cuba.

(Kindly contributed by J. V. CRAWFORD, Esq., late Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Havana.

WE have the satisfaction of informing our readers that the Spanish Government has issued an order for the final cessation of the "Patrocinado," or apprentice system, in Cuba. We may now consider Slavery abolished in that island, for although the freedmen will be obliged, for the next four years, to show that they are industriously employed, we take it that this is merely a necessary and prudent precaution against idleness and vagrancy.

Two remarkable facts have attended the emancipation of the Slaves in Cuba—first, that it has been effected without pecuniary indemnity to the owners; and, secondly, that it has not visibly affected the production of the

island.

(FROM THE "DIARIO DE LA MARINA," OF HAVANA, 10th October, 1886.)

Law proposed and passed in the Spanish Cortes.

ART. I. From the date of the promulgation of this Law the patronage established by the Law of 13th February, 1880, shall cease in Cuba.

ART. 2. All freedmen without distinction shall be under the immediate protection of the State, and shall be subject to the obligation of accrediting the contract of their services during four years after they are liberated by this law. Those who ceased to be apprentices previously shall be subject to the same obligation up to the time specified in Article 10 of the Law of 13th February, 1880.

ART. 3. At the expiry of the four years mentioned in the preceding Article those

who were apprentices shall enjoy all their civil rights.

ART. 4. The Government will ictate the regulations required to put in force the obligation imposed on the freedmen by Article 2 of this Law, and by Articles 9 and 10 of the Law of 13th February, 1880, and their concordants in Section 4 of the regulations of 27th July.

ART. 5. From the date of the promulgation of this Law, all the local and

provincial Boards of freedmen and patronage shall be suppressed.

ART. 6. The protection referred to in Article 2 shall be exercised in the form which the Government may determine through the respective authorities, and the provincial deputations and town councils.

ART. 7. All laws, regulations, and dispositions which may be opposed to the present Law are revoked.

Palace of the Cortes, 26th July, 1886.

## [TELEGRAM TO THE "DIARIO DE LA MARINA."]

MADRID, 9th October, 1886.

The Minister of the Colonies inserts to-day in the Gazette a Royal Decree for the disappearance of the "patronage" system in the Island of Cuba, from the date of its publication in the Havana Gazette. The apprentices (patrocinados) will remain subject to the regulations in conformity with Articles 9 and 10 of the Law for putting an end to Slavery. The local and provincial Boards of patronage are suppressed.

# Persian Gulf.

Copy of a letter from a young officer cruising in the Persian Gulf, dated September 10th, 1886:—

"A few days ago I had reason to suspect that a cargo of Slaves would be landed at a small town called Soor, at the extreme end of my cruising ground. I started accordingly, after dark, with the boats, and proceeded along the coast, arriving off Soor at daybreak. The people there are almost all interested in the Slave-trade, and, of course, bitterly hostile to us, and we have most positive orders not to land there. We pulled into the inner harbour, and examined the dhows lying there, but although one had every appearance of having run "black ivory," there was nothing we could condemn her on. We anchored for the night off the town, and before going to sleep I left very strict orders with the watch in both boats about keeping a good look out. About two o'clock in the morning, just after the moon had gone down, the blue-jacket on watch in my own boat roused me, and said a man was swimming round the boats. Waking the Arab interpreter, we made him hail him, and he thereupon came alongside and gave himself up as a fugitive Slave, so we hoisted the poor beggar in.

"Since then I have handed him over to the ship. The Slavery hereabouts is a dreadful thing, and it is a disgrace to the civilised countries of Europe that it should go on. England alone takes any steps in the matter, and those are only half measures, as only three ships are employed on the whole of the South and East Coasts of Arabia, and three more on the East Coast of Africa and Madagascar, which is absurdly insufficient to stop the traffic. Some of the domestic Slaves appear to be fairly well treated, and look comfortable, although, of course, they have all the hard work to do. Others are very cruelly treated. Perhaps the worst part of the whole thing is the pearl-diving. The strongest Slaves are chosen for this, and before they dive for the pearl oysters a clip is put on their nose to prevent their breathing. They then jump out of the boat, armed with a hammer and a light basket, and on coming to the surface pass the oysters into the boat, and after a whiff of air are sent down again. If they don't succeed in sending up a certain number of oysters they get severely beaten. Before long their lungs begin to give way, and then it is soon all over with them. I often think that if some ladies who wear pearls ever knew what it cost to get them they would chuck them out of the window to the first beggar they saw."

In one of the pretty fugitive poems of the late Felicia Hemans—a writer too little read by our young people of the present day—occur the following stanzas, addressed to the "Pearl Diver," which are appropriate to the above sad narration. We quote from memory:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Thou hast been where the rocks of coral grow,

Thou hast fought with eddying waves, Thy cheek is pale, and thy heart beats low Thou searcher of ocean caves.

<sup>&</sup>quot;In thy sunken eye, in thy hollow cheek, Well are the death-signs read.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Go! for the pearl in its cavern seek, E'er hope and power be fled!'

<sup>&</sup>quot;And bright in beauty's coronal That glistening gem shall be, A star to all in the festive hall; But who shall think on thee?

<sup>&</sup>quot;None; as it gleams from the queen-like

Not one 'mid throngs will say:

<sup>&#</sup>x27;A life hath been like a raindrop shed For that pale, quivering ray.'"

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE EAST COAST.

MR. J. A. WILLIAMS, of the Universities' Mission, now on a visit to England, states, that between May, 1884, and May, 1885, he saw 20,000 Slaves pass within a few miles of his house on their way to Lindi and Kilwah. This confirms the opinion lately expressed by Sir John Kirk that the Slave-trade on the East Coast is increasing. It is high time that something were done to bring pressure to bear upon the Arab Governors upon the Coast, who, though nominally pledged to put down the Slave-trade under the Treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, are undoubtedly extremely lax on this point, to say the least of it. It would be interesting to know what causes the demand for the thousands of Slaves who annually cross Lake Nyassa. It is certain that many of these poor creatures find their way to the Comoro and other Islands, where, no doubt, the fiction still exists that they are "engage's libres"!

Mr. WILLIAMS says, "I believe a great many caravans pass down the banks of the Rovuma to Rionga, and are shipped from that port. In July, 1884, I saw a large caravan, numbering about 800 Slaves, pass within half a mile of my house at Ntua, and saw the return of the same caravan with not more than 80 men carrying bales of cloth and powder, six days after."

#### FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

On Friday Evening, October 15th, Mr. FREDERICK DOUGLASS, the leader of the coloured race in America, addressed a large and influential meeting in the Town Hall, Bridport. The Mayor, Mr. J. BEACH, who presided, was supported by the Rev. W. J. BAIN, H. P. BRYAN, R. L. CARPENTER, E. FRANCIS, and Mr. T. A. COLFOX, J.P. Mr. DOUGLASS was appointed U.S. Marshal of (Washington) the District of Columbia, and President GARFIELD transferred him to the post of Registrar of Deeds in that District. Though he strongly opposed the election of a Democratic President, Mr. CLEVELAND kept him in office, till a few weeks ago, when he appointed a Democrat of the same complexion. Mr. Douglass told his hearers that forty-one years ago he had visited England as a fugitive Slave, and his free papers were purchased by ladies in this country; in 1859, he came as an exile, to escape the pro-Slavery fury after John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry; now he came as an American citizen, who had received the recognition of the American Government. Speaking of the present condition of his people, he regarded it as hopeful, considering the circumstances of emancipation. No provision was made for them in the war which set them free; they were left landless and destitute -not, as in Russia, where the emancipated serfs had been given land; and their old masters were naturally hostile to them, as the witnesses to their humiliation. They have, however, rapidly increased in numbers; they are acquiring education and property; and their social position is improving, in spite of many serious obstacles. Mr. Douglass has been in England about a month, but came for refreshment, not for public work. He is going on the Continent with Mrs. DougLass this week, and hopes to return here in the early summer.

# The Recreations of the Sultan of Morocco.

As an example of the recreations to which the Sultan of Morocco has recourse in order to pass away the time which hangs so heavily on his hands, we take the following instance from the *Times of Morocco*, which quotes from an English periodical. The extract gives a clear account of the value which this despotic Sovereign places upon the lives of his subjects:—

"Two or three years back the Emperor ordered from England the complete apparatus of a warehouse hoist, worked with balance weights, which was erected between walls specially built in the precincts of the old palace in the city of Marakesh. The position was such that it could serve no possible purpose except as a toy, and after over £100 had been expended it failed to afford His Majesty more than an hour's gratification. When it is remembered that every single object of this kind has to be transported on camels over 150 miles or more of a country where roads are unknown, some idea can be formed of the cost and labour required. The Emperor, however, was somewhat taken with the ingenuity of the mechanism for jamming the lift in the guides and arresting its fall in case of a breakage of the main rope. He accordingly desired that this should be illustrated by a slip catch arranged to let the rope go, the chamber of the lift being occupied for the experiment by some Slaves.

"'But,' said the English officer, by whom His Majesty was advised, 'it has been erected rather hastily, and we are not entirely sure that it may not come down with a crash, in which case your Slaves might be seriously damaged. You had better put in some heavy stones instead.'

"'Not at all,' said His Majesty, 'that is precisely my object. If it does come down with a crash, Slaves will screech, but stones won't!'

"The officer then ventured to suggest that the Slaves might be killed: in reply to which the Emperor only shrugged his shoulders with a gesture indicating that if it was the will of Allah they should die that way, it was as good as any other. Fortunately, however, the lift was forgotten before the experiment came off!"

#### "THE FAR INTERIOR." \*

(Cape of Good Hope to Lake Nyassa.)

MR. WALTER MONTAGU KERR, who has just produced one of the latest and most interesting books on African travel, saw a great deal of the Slave raids which desolate the regions of Central Africa. We hope to make fuller extracts from his notes on the Slave-trade in future numbers, but must confine ourselves at present to one short introductory paragraph:—

"As I looked out on the north-western expanse, stretching far away to the poisonous swamps of Lake Bangweolo, my mind was filled with thoughts of the greatest of African explorers, who was struck down on the inhospitable shores of the lake. More than once have I thought, while looking upon some of the horrifying and heart-rending scenes which arose before me, of the words of him who was so deeply impressed with the fact that the devil held the reins of power in the *Dark Continent*. 'All I can add in my loneliness, wrote Livingstone, is, may Heaven's rich blessing come down on everyone, American, English, or Turk, who will help to heal the open sore of the world.'"

<sup>\*</sup> London: Sampson, Low & Co. 1886.

# Obituary,

WE regret to have to announce that since our last issue two members of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society have passed away from the scene of their earthly labours.

The Rev. J. C. Gallaway (latterly of Birmingham), was for many years a member of the Committee, and though his removal from London prevented his frequent attendance at the meetings, he still kept up his interest in Anti-Slavery matters.

CLEMENT MANSFIELD INGLEBY, LL.D., the well-known Shakespearian writer, died somewhat suddenly at his house, "Valentines," Ilford. It will be remembered that about three years ago Dr. and Mrs. INGLEBY threw open their beautiful grounds to the members of the Anti-Slavery Society and their friends for a public meeting under the presidency of Arthur Pease, M.P., which created much interest amongst the neighbouring gentry and friends. Dr. Ingleby was a very regular attender at the meetings of the Committee, and took an active part in its proceedings.

#### IN MEMORIAM.

MR. T. MOORE MADDEN, of Merrion Square, Dublin, has favoured us with a very short record of the life of his father, Dr. R. R. MADDEN,\* preliminary to the issue of a more extended memoir.

There are very few members of the Anti-Slavery Committee surviving who remember Dr. Madden, and the services he rendered to the Anti-Slavery cause during the period ranging from 1833 to 1840, first as a Special Magistrate in Jamaica, and afterwards as the Superintendent of Liberated Africans in Cuba, and subsequently as the Acting Judge Advocate in the Mixed Commission Court at Hayana.

Those who can remember the arduous nature of his services in Cuba, at a period when not less than 40,000 Slaves were every year imported into Cuba, in violation alike of treaties with England and of the laws of Spain—services demanding a fearless energy, tempered by coolness and judgment, can alone fully appreciate their value.

Half a century has passed since those services were given in order to secure from Spain the fulfilment of her engagements to abolish the Slave Trade, and although it has taken long years of persistent efforts, we are now able to rejoice, not only at the complete extinction of the Slave Trade, but also at the near approach of the abolition of Slavery itself throughout the Spanish West Indies.

<sup>\*</sup> Vide ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, March-April, page 52.

# FORM OF BEQUEST

TO THE

# ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"I give to the Treasurer of the Anti-Slavery Society, or to the person for the time being acting as such, whose receipt I direct shall be a full discharge for the same, the sum of £ sterling (free of Legacy Duty) to be applied for the general purposes of the said Society, to be fully paid out of such part of my personal estate as is legally applicable to such purpose."

# "MONTSERRAT" LIME FRUIT JUICE.

From the LIVERPOOL JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, February 20th, 1886.

The "Hilda" has just reached the Mersey from Montserrat, her entire cargo consisting of 50,000 gallons of lime juice, being the first arrival of the new crop. The demand for this article is increasing to such an extent that it may be of interest to the public to know that 180,000 gallons were sold during twelve months by the sole consignees, Messrs. Evans, Sons & Co., Wholesale Chemists, Hanover Street, Liverpool.

In reference to the above, the public would do well to see that "Mont-serrat" Lime Fruit Juice and Cordials only are supplied, and that the Trade Mark is on capsule as well as label of each bottle.

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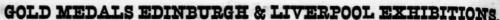
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